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heroes, prophets and poets, saviors and lovers of men are calling to us. They have stood as we stand now—unafraid in the face of the storm.

No clouds are black enough to shut away the shining ideals. We see what is precious and permanent. We will give ourselves anew to do justice, to love mercy, to follow truth, to make good will prevail, to accomplish lasting peace among the nations. We turn from the chaos of passion and force and lift up our eyes to the hills of beauty, goodness, and power.

Who tells us that this Christmas is the darkest that ever was? No! That first Christmas when a little child lay crying in a manger, doomed to death on a cross, was inexpressibly darker—darker in tyranny and oppression, darker in its savagery and ignorance. Since then faith and hope and love have been shining into the world. Today, then, in the face of the storm, let millions of children sing carols of joy, blending a deeper human note in their music. Let us all join hands to live through sunshine and tempest as the children of God. Even the sufferers forbid us to shut our hearts against gladness. They cry out for courage and smiles. Now is the time to pass on every ray of light that shines from heaven.

Our Peace Program.*

By Arthur Deerin Call.

Last July.

On the twenty-second of last July this old world seemed a happy and a contented place. Encircling it the wheels of industry made a comfortable sound of plenty and of progress. Fields were freighted with an unprecedented harvest. Ships went down to sea and ships came back from sea peacefully and unafraid. The young men and hope of Europe, like the youth of our own land, faced the future with brave, glad eyes. On that summer evening the bells from countless Christian churches the earth around called worshipers as usual to their customary petitions. Men and women labored and played and loved that day as men and women are wont to do in the days that are fair.

The next morning, July 23, Count Berchtold, Austria's foreign minister, addressed a letter in the name of Austro-Hungary's Government to the Servian Government at Belgrade. This letter set forth the indignation of Austro-Hungary at a number of offenses thought to have been committed or instigated by Servia, especially at the murder of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife in a city of Bosnia, June 28.

And Now.

Behold the change, unheralded and unparalleled! In five days Austria declared war against Servia; in four more days Germany declared war against Russia; still four days and England sent her ultimatum to Germany. During the ten days from July 24 to August 4, one hundred and thirty fateful telegrams, most of them very long, passed in and out of the English State Department alone. But reason seemed dethroned. Within seven days after Germany's ultimatum to Russia, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Austro-Hun-

gary were at war. The whole picture of our human world completely changed within a week. Where was happiness there is unprecedented misery and travail. Industry and commerce are throttled. Ships sail fearfully hither and yon. The youth and promise of Europe are blowing each other's brains out as rapidly and effectively as the cunning devices of military genius can accomplish. Almost as in the twinkling of an eye primordial hatreds seem re-aroused. Ancient differences fan the forgotten coals of revenge into flames again, while trade rivalries and jealousies add their highly inflammable fuel. Out of their slimy caves race and religious antagonisms creep awkwardly and ridiculously forth once more. The vanities of statesmen, the lust for power, the whole foul brood hatched in the nest of absolutism aim their vicious blows at the children of democracy, for the fears of internal revolutions have stirred the vested interests. Thus the bright picture of July passes away. In its place we have the sad, hectic, heathenish waste of the world at war.

The Causes.

Would we know the hands that have made this wicked transformation? There are the secret alliances and ententes with their intrigues and conspiracies in the interest of an impossible "equilibrium" or "balance of power." There are the "diplomats," mostly incompetent men, as now we know—men barren of ideas and of ideals—pottering and patching with the job mysteriously, tyrannically, and lamentably. Out of the cauldron of their making have arisen only the consuming fumes of suspicion, fear, hatred, conflict, and slaughter. As the guardian of national interests, European statesmanship has embezzled and defaulted; it has sadly, conspicuously failed. European diplomacy has spelled debacle. We now understand more fully the meaning of the words of the late Lord Dufferin, who suggested that when war is declared the foreign ministers and the ambassadors of each country should be hanged.

But there have been other hands still deeper in the pitch. Certain lawmakers, professors, army and navy officers, and other leaders have been following very false gods, and, the pity, leading many of us after them. Our honored President has counseled for the United States the attitude of neutrality in the crisis at hand, but it ought not to have been necessary, because our own country has not been guiltless of following these same false gods. What are these gods? We may call some of them by name. Here is one, for example, standing for the faith that "states exist only by virtue of their arms."

Mr. Roosevelt.

A distinguished former President of the United States bows gravely before this god, lifts to it his patriotic eyes, and loudly calls all "pacifists" to repentance. Only the other day we heard this resourceful and self-reliant gentleman say, "It is imperative that we shall take the steps necessary in order, by our own strength and wisdom, to safeguard ourselves against such a disaster as has occurred in Europe." . . . "Our chance of securing justice rests exclusively on the efficiency of our fleet and army," he added. But, may we not properly ask, has such not been exactly the theories of the now utterly discredited European doctrinaires? Has not the

* Address at Chattanooga, Tenn., October 25, 1914.

whole overpowering system of European militarism grown out of it? Is not the war now upon us the direct outgrowth of precisely such illogical and dangerous statements—statements which from another would now be called stuff, trash, and nonsense? Surely the stupendous preparation for war in the name of peace has produced but one result—a stupendous ruin. And does any one claim that any abiding “justice” can possibly come out of this war save the justice of abolishing this highly explosive militarism forever? Mr. Roosevelt, honorable exponent of righteousness, powerful, inspiring as you are, are you not at least mistaken in calling for the further upbuilding in America of a system that has all but wrecked man’s most cherished achievements?

Other Causes.

Here is another one of these highly damaged gods. It is worshiped by those who believe that “nations are separate and competing entities, independent, sovereign, and that their various interests make them therefore enemies.” But we now know, or ought to know, that it is not the nations who are the competitors in the markets of the world. Trade and commercial, like social, moral, religious, boundaries are not coincident with political boundaries. This god is certainly but a broken and pathetic image.

And there are those other shattered gods before whom bow those pleading for armies and navies as “an insurance against war”; for the principle that “trade follows only the flag”; for the wild faiths that “liberty and justice depend upon armaments”; that “in time of peace we should prepare for war”; that “peace depends upon being so strong that war will make victory certain”; that “might makes right”; that “we must starve others or ourselves be starved”; that “militarism may be tolerated on the ground that governments may be trusted to use its machinery with reason.” Thus our modern world has reared its Temple of Diana and filled it with mocking images. The result for this same modern world is its institution of militarism, that organized sentiment interested in promoting the theory that human society can exist only by force of arms; the unnatural, illogical, devastating scourge of militarism, the “System,” autocratic, feudal, which has at last precipitated this world war. We see it now as it is, this militarism, atavistic, breeder of savagery. We see it cancerous and intolerable. We know now that it must, like any cancer, be finally and completely removed. Along with the thumbkin, trial by torture, duelling, piracy, this strange inflammable remnant of a barbaric age must be legislated out of the world forever.

Our Peace Program.

Thus our peace program has not been destroyed. We are realizing it anew. As a nation, for example, we must attend to our business in sobriety and sanity. We may continue to offer mediation to the belligerent nations in a spirit of neutral good-will. As opportunity offers we may extend the right hand of relief to the stricken Belgians. We must study and interpret as best we may the events passing rapidly and impressively before us; for in any event we must certainly clear our own thinking upon the whole foul business, because we are all directly and personally responsible in the premises to the present and to the generations that are to

come. When in the course of time the terms of peace are upon the table, the representatives of the people must be heard; because the peace, when at last it comes as come it will, must be a permanent peace. This means that the normal racial sentiments of men must be allowed a rational expression and development. It means that national idealism and expansions must be provided for, that they may not forever produce their destructive frictions. It means that individual freedom and initiative must be left unhampered in the upbuilding of a better world democracy. It means that many maps must be redrawn on the bases of the plebiscite, that international hatreds may disappear. It means a clear, open, and honest definition of international intentions by all of the powers. It means an international co-operation firmly buttressed upon the theory that governments exist for the people and not the people for the governments. It means the removal of all private profit in the production of armaments and war supplies. It means a social reconstruction on the wider and safer bases of needs, not profits only; of ideas, not force merely; of a collective, co-operative disarmament as regards individual nations. It means a league of nations for the removal of “The System” forever from its seat of power, an international legislative body, and the organization of an international court with all the sanctions of an unanimous approval. If armaments there must be, then they must be under international control.

Encouraging Precedents.

This is not a hopeless series of formulas. There have been peace programs possible of realization heretofore. One hundred years ago September 30 last, for example, there convened in the Austrian capital the great “Council of Vienna.” From it the world learned that it is possible for mankind to organize and focus its sentiments against war. From it it learned that it is possible for the European States to get together, to redraw maps, to fix indemnities, to discuss for nine months their most divergent differences, and to settle them for a generation.

The two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 have left with us also their lessons. From them we now know that the recognition of war as an institution needing but to be regulated is as unthinkable as should have been the recognition of the institution of slavery by the Constitutional Convention of the United States in 1787. From them we have also learned that an international organization capable of settling international disputes is not only highly desirable, but possible.

German unity, Italian unity, democratic government, international organization and co-operation are now accomplished facts, but once they were far more chimerical than our plans and hopes for a permanent international peace. History will credit the mediation of the A, B, C powers at Niagara with being one of the greatest achievements in behalf of international co-operation. Then, too, I am one of those who profoundly believe in the international commissions of inquiry provided in the thirty treaties promoted and achieved through the untiring energy and devotion of Mr. William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. Roosevelt Again.

Mr. Roosevelt has recently said that peace treaties, arbitration treaties, Hague treaties, and the like, as at

present existing, afford not even the smallest protection against such disasters as witnessed now in Europe. "Treaties," he adds, "are as so much waste paper, except as they are backed up by force." But, may we not ask, is it not true that England's defense in the present war is that she is fighting to defend the sacred treaty of 1831 and 1839? Is it not further true that England's greatest claim for acquittal before the bar of humanity is that this is so? If there is one thing taught by the events now transpiring in Europe, is it not that that treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium is far more than a "scrap of paper"? Is it not true that the sanction of all statutes is not force, but public opinion, and that the sanction of this public opinion is being demonstrated now as never before in the history of the world? Yes, Mr. Roosevelt, force is the ultimate sanction of treaties, but it is not the force of arms; it is the force of that collective judgment which supports all law—the force of public opinion. In the language of Falstaff to Shallow:

"Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk, and big assemblance of a man! Give me the spirit, Master Shallow."

The Bryan Treaties.

The treaties so successfully promoted by the present administration of our Government provide that any dispute between the United States and one of the signatory nations, not capable of settlement by diplomacy, shall go before a permanent international commission for investigation and report. This commission shall have a year in which to perform its tasks, during which time the disputing nations agree not to declare war. After the report is made, the nations may act as they choose. But it is reasonable to believe that in practically every instance a year of investigation with its time for reflection will make war between the parties practically impossible. The peace program cannot leave out of account these treaties. In due time all of the governments of the world should be pressed to draft and ratify them until their central principle is the theory and practice of all the nations.

Virility of the Peace Program.

The peace program is not therefore a weak and listless thing. It is not for a policy of supine non-resistance. It is neither a negative nor an emasculated propaganda. It provides, if you please, with Mr. Roosevelt, Bismarck, and Napoleon, for a policy of "blood and iron," but blood and iron that there may be that justice which comes from law and order, not murder; blood and iron that laws, institutions, inventions, and ideals may grow as the God of nations would have them grow; blood and iron that men and women may be left at last to the pursuit of their proper and permanent satisfactions, which I conceive to be health, play, education, culture, character, vocation, children, worship, love, and service.

The Personal Responsibility of Each.

If States are to promote the well being of humanity and thus and thus only to refute successfully the arguments of anarchy, if men are to reach the higher and not the lower levels apparent to us now, if the nations are ever to beat their swords into ploughshares and learn war no more, then all in the shops and schools and churches and streets and clubs and homes of the world

must study and understand and urge with all earnestness the program for an enduring abolition of war. War is a consuming and unnecessary monster and an unmitigated curse; the peace for which we struggle is altogether righteous, and what is righteous, as God lives, shall become permanent.

We may rest assured that our earth will yet become a saner and a happier place. The wheels of industry will begin again, fields will bring forth their abundant harvests, ships will go forth and return for us, young men will come once more to help furnish and upbuild the better life, Christianity will come unto its own, men and women will yet live in a fairer world, because they will then have abolished the hideous crime of war.

The Peace Cause Is Righteous and Will Prevail.

By Hon. Richard Bartholdt.*

* * * Since we met last, simultaneously with the great National Peace Congress held here, the unexpected has happened. In spite of the strong peace sentiment prevailing nearly everywhere in the world, a terrible war has broken out and the continent of Europe has become a human slaughter-house. We are not here today to take sides or to express sympathies for one or the other of the belligerent nations, but as peace advocates we feel it our duty to point out the lessons of the great cataclysm.

In time of peace, we have been told, prepare for war, and so many millions have thoughtlessly repeated it that it finally became the axiom of a majority of the people who impatiently hooted down the man that dared to raise his voice against it. In time of peace, prepare for war. What does it mean? It means military preparedness; it means an increase of armaments; it means militarism on land and sea. Is there a sane man who will deny that that very preparedness, the militarism of Russia, of England, of Germany, of France, is alone responsible for what the German crown prince has just called a "senseless, unnecessary, and purposeless war?" In the matter of militarism all the great powers were equally guilty. They were all in a state of preparedness to fall upon each other and cut each other's throats. The whole of Europe was one huge powder magazine, and it was only a question of time when a single match would cause both an explosion and a world conflagration.

And have not we pacifists predicted this very thing? We have insisted and declaimed it from a hundred platforms that armaments are no guaranty of peace, but in the very nature of things, rather a provocation to war, and we have earnestly striven to force agreements by the several governments in favor of a reduction of armaments and of a peaceful settlement of international controversies. But what did the governments do? While talking peace, and laying the foundation for a peaceable future at The Hague, all of them increased their armies and navies to such dangerous proportions that there could be but one inevitable result—the shocking cataclysm of which we are living witnesses.

During the last four months I have been asked a hun-

*From an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Missouri Peace Society, St. Louis, Mo., December 7, 1914, by Mr. Bartholdt, President of the Society.